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## CELTIC MYTHOLOGY. By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

II .- CAUSE OF MYTH-(Continued.)

THE theory of the cause of myth that finds most favour at the present time is that which explains myth in connection with, and dependence on, language; while at the same time due regard is had to the other possible sources of it in allegory, analogy, and real, though exaggerated, events. The way in which language gives rise to myth can, however, be understood only after a consideration of the mental powers, state of culture, and consequent interpretation of nature which existed among primitive and mythmaking men. Language is but the physical side, as it were, of mythology, and the mental side of it must be considered before the action of language can be appreciated properly. The origin of myth springs from the same cause as the origin of science; they are both man's attempt to interpret his surroundings. Myth is but the badly remembered interpretation of nature given in the youth and inexperience of the world when the feelings were predominant; science is the same interpretation in the old age of the world, given under the influence of the "freezing reason's colder part." Man in the myth-making stage was ignorant of the cause and real character of the mighty natural forces around him-ignorant even of the unaltering uniformity of nature342

indeed the only thing the Celts said they were afraid of was that the heavens should fall! The relations of cause and effect they interpreted by their own feelings and will-power; every moving thing, animate or inanimate, was regarded as impelled by a force akin to that which impelled man; that is, by a will-force. Even stationary nature—the everlasting hills and the solid earth—was endowed with feeling, will, and thought. All the mental powers that man found controlling his own actions were unconsciously transferred to nature. A personal life was accordingly attributed to sun, moon, clouds, winds, and the other natural powers; they were looked upon as performing their special functions by means of faculties of mind and body analogous to those of man or beast. The varying phenomena of the sky, morn and eve, noon and black-clouded night, were the product of the life that dwelt in The eclipse of the sun, for example—a most dreaded event in ancient times-was supposed to be caused by a wild beast attempting to swallow the lord of day; and men poured forth, as some savages do yet, with timbrels and drums, to frighten away the monster. The clouds were cows with swelling udders, milked by the sun and wind of heaven-the cattle of the sun under the care of the wind. The thunder was the roar of a mighty beast: the lightning, a serpent darting at its prev. Modern savages are in much this state of culture, and their beliefs have helped greatly in unravelling the problem of mythology. The ideas which children form of outward nature exemplifies in some degree the mythic age through which the race in its childhood passed. "To a little child not only are all living creatures endowed with human intelligence, but everything is alive. In his world, pussy takes rank with 'Pa' and 'Ma' in point of intelligence. He beats the chairs against which he has knocked his head; the fire that burns his finger is 'naughty fire'; and the stars that shine through his bedroom window are eyes like mamma's, or pussy's, only brighter."

It was on these wrong impressions—this anthropomorphic view of nature—that language was founded. Language, in man's passing to a higher state of culture, still kept, stereotyped and fixed, the old personal explanations and statements about nature; the language did not change, but man's views of natural causes and events changed very much as he got more civilised—

more free from the influence of his feelings, and more under the sway of his reasoning powers. The knowledge and ideas of earlier men were thus, as it were, fossilised in language, and when the feeling and personification impressed on language had passed into a more intellectual age, the result was misinterpretation and a too literal acceptance of many of the warm and vivid epithets employed of old. The personal explanation of the sun's motion, for instance, and the attributes and epithets given to it, all charged with life and feeling, were in the course of time and language taken in a more literal way, and, since slightly more scientific views were held as to the real nature of the sun, the old explanations were fastened to a separate sun-god, and thus a divorce was made between the sun and the personality given to it in the old epithets and explanations. The result was that there came to be a sun and a sun-god, Apollo, quite separate; and the life-history given to this sun-god was taken from the explanations formerly given, in personal and anthropomorphic language, of the sun's daily and yearly course, his "rising" and "setting," for example, expressions which, though anthropomorphic, are still in use. A myth cannot, therefore, well arise unless the true meaning of a word or phrase has been forgotten, and a false meaning or explanation fastened on it. We may take an example from Greek mythology to illustrate this. Prometheus, the fire-bringer, is merely the personification of the wooden fire-drill; for the word is derived from the same source as the Sanscrit pramanthas, the "fire machine." Transplanted to Greek soil, the word lost its original signification with the loss of the thing signified, and became a mythological name, for which a new etymology had to be coined. Now, "promethes," in Greek, means "provident," and so Prometheus, the fire-bringer, was transformed into the wise representative of forethought, who stole the fire from heaven for suffering humanity; and a brother was supplied him in the foolish Epimetheus or "afterthought." And thereby hangs one of the most famous and noble myths of antiquity.

Gaelic, in its modern shape even, presents some very startling personifications of natural objects. The regular expression for "The sun is setting" is "Tha a' ghrian 'dol a laidhe"—"going to bed." Mr Campbell, in his very literal and picturesque translation of the West Highland tales, does not hesitate to follow the

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Gaelic even in its most personal metaphors. "Beul na h-oidhche," "nightfall," is given literally as "the mouth of night." Gaelic poetry, too, is as a rule much more instinct with life and feeling in dealing with natural objects than English poetry. Ossian's address to the setting sun may be quoted to show what a mine of metaphor, and consequent mythology, exists in our poetic and elevated language—

"An d' fhag thu gorm astar nan speur,
A mhic gun bheud, a's òr-bhuidh' ciabh?
Tha dorsan na h-oidhche dhuit reidh,
Agus pàilliun do chlos san iar.
Thig na stuaidh mu'n cuairt gu mall,
A choimhead fir a's glaine gruaidh,
A' togail fo eagal an ceann
Ri d' fhaicinn cho àillidh 'n ad shuain.
Gabhsa cadal ann ad chòs,
A ghrian, a's till o d' chlos le aoibhneas."

These lines bring us back to the anthropomorphism of the Vedic hymns of India, to which alone, in their richness of personification and mythic power, they can be compared.

Allied to the linguistic theory of myth is also the simpler case of those myths consciously started to explain the names of nations, countries, and places. A common method of accounting for a national name was to invent an ancestor or patriarch who bore that name in an individual form. Britain, so say the myths, is so named from Brutus, grandson of Æneas, the Trojan hero, who first ruled here. Scotland gets its name from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh. The names of places are dealt with in the same way, and, if the name is anyways significant, the myth takes the lines indicated by the popular etymology of the name. This is the origin of the name of Loch-Ness: "Where Loch-Ness now s there was once a fine glen. A woman went one day to the well to fetch water, and the spring flowed so much that she got frightened, left her pitcher, and ran for her life. Getting to the top of a hill, she turned about and saw the glen filled with water. 'Aha!' said she, 'tha loch ann a nis;' and hence the lake was called Loch-Ness." A somewhat similar account is given of the origin and name of Loch-Neagh, in Ireland, and Loch-Awe, in Argyleshire.

From such myths as the last we gradually pass to myths that do not depend in the least on the quibbling and changes of

language, but are, consciously or unconsciously, forged explanations of national customs, historical events, or natural phenomena. Thus the custom among the Picts whereby the succession was in the female line, was mythically explained by Bede, thus: The Picts, having invaded Scotland, came to terms with the indigenous Gaels, and, as they brought no women with them, the compact was that, if the Gaels gave them their daughters as wives, the succession would be in the female line. Again, has the reader ever thought why the sea is salt? Well, this is the reason why. A man once got possession, it is needless to detail how, of a fairy quern which was "good to grind anything," only requiring certain cabalistic words to set it going or to stop it. A ship captain bought it to grind salt for him on his voyage. In midocean the captain gave the quern the necessary order to grind salt, and it did; but unfortunately he forgot the incantation for stopping it. The guern ground on and filled the ship with salt till it sank to the bottom of the sea, where the quern is still grinding salt. And that is the reason why the sea is salt. If any one is sceptical, just let him taste the sea water and he will know its truth!

### SPREAD OF MYTH.

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Closely akin to the consideration of the cause of myth is the question why myths and tales, evidently of the same origin, exist among nations differing widely both in language and locality. We found that tales of transformed lovers, descending even to similarities in minute details, and hence showing evidences of a common source, existed among all the chief nations of Europe, Western Asia, and India. Besides, other myths of a more general character are found all over the world. Now, what is the cause of this wide distribution of the same myths? Two or three explanations are offered for this, each of which can correctly explain why some particular myths or tales, but none of which can explain why the whole body of mythology and folk-lore, is so widely distributed. Some hold that the stories and myths have been borrowed or transmitted from one nation to another; travellers and translators, they think, will account for nearly the whole of them. While it cannot be denied that many tales have permeated from one nation to another, this will by no means account for the similarities of myths among two nations or more, in whose langu346

age and customs these myths are so deeply embedded and ingrooved that we should have to say the language too was borrowed. If a myth, and, to a less degree, a tale, depend on a nation's language-its modes of thought and expression, if the roots of the proper names be embedded in the language, and consequently obscured, that myth and that tale must belong to that nation. They belong to that nation's inheritance as much as its language. Of course, care must be exercised in deciding what is really the peculiar property of a nation, and distinction made between the various classes into which the materials of mythology and folk-lore fall. "That certain deities occur in India, Greece, and Germany, having the same names and the same character, is a fact that can no longer be denied. That certain heroes, too, known to Indians, Greeks, and Romans, point to one and the same origin for these nations, both by their name and by their history, is a fact by this time admitted by all whose admission is of real value. As heroes are in most cases gods in disguise, there is nothing startling in the fact that nations who had worshipped the same gods should also have preserved some common legends of demigods or heroes, nav, even in a later phase of thought, of fairies and ghosts. The case, however, becomes much more problematical when we ask whether stories also, fables told with a decided moral purpose, formed part of that earliest Arvan inheritance?" Here Max Müller draws a distinct line between fables with a moral or educative purpose and the rest of the materials of mythology, and he has clearly demonstrated that many such are borrowed. The fables of Æsop have been adopted into every language in Europe, and the moral tales of the Indians, after many vicissitudes, found a "local habitation" in the pages of La Fontaine and others. Another explanation for the distribution of myths is that primitive men worked in similar grooves wherever they lived; man's circumstances being the same, his ideas and the expression of them will present strong resemblances everywhere. This view will account for the myths that are most widely distributed over the earth's surface. Jack the Giant-Killer, for instance, appears in the Zulu story of Uhlakanyana, who cheats the cannibal giant and his mother, to the latter of whom he had been delivered to be boiled, and whom he cunningly succeeds in substituting for himself. But the theory can apply only in a general way; to the great body of myths common to certain nations it cannot apply at all; it does not touch their deep and often detailed resem-What harmonises best with the facts of mythologic distribution is the grouping of nations into families proved to be genealogically allied from possessing a common body of myths and tales that must be descended from a parent stock. Although the facts of comparative mythology are sufficiently strong of themselves to prove the common origin of the nations from India to Ireland, yet it is satisfactory that the science of language has already proved the common descent of these nations, as far at least as language is concerned. Linguists have called the parent nation, from which they have sprung, the Aryan nation, a name which shall be adopted in this discussion. The only other group of nations that can satisfactorily be shown by their language and mythology to possess a common descent is the Semitic, which includes the Hebrews, Chaldeans, and Arabians. The Aryan and Semitic races have nothing in common, except what is borrowed, either in the matter of language or myth. When we are told that the Celtic god Bel is the same as the Semitic Baal, we may conclude that the assertion is, more than likely, both unscientific and untrue.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES.—We heartily commend Mr Mackenzie's volume of 528 closely-printed pages as a valuable storehouse of information to all who are interested in the grievances of the Highland crofters. . . . We would especially advise those who have derived their ideas of the crofters' grievances from the grossly one-sided and sensational statements of the Scotsman to read the plain, unvarnished tale of Mr Mackenzie, who has studied the question on the spot, and has no personal interest in misleading the public.—London Echo.

CELTIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE. — Professor Blackie has offered a Prize of £25 to the Students of the Class of Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Edinburgh, for Session 1883-4, and a Prize of the same amount in Session 1884-5. The Prize will be competed for at the close of the Session in each year. Candidates will be examined in the following subjects:—(1.) Translation of a passage of Latin Prose, ad aperturam; (2.) Translation of a passage of Greek Prose, ad aperturam; (3.) Elements of Sanscrit Grammar; (4.) Comparative Philology; (5.) Gaelic. We hope to see this excellent example widely followed.

#### ROB ROY'S DEATH.\*

[SUNDERLAND, April 24, 1883.—Dear Mr Mackenzie.—On reading Mr A. H. Millar's lately published "History of Rob Roy," I was agreeably surprised to find that Rob's exit was utterly devoid of "startling incidents"—as the tales by tradition have it. Mr Millar has conclusively shown that Rob died quietly in his own house, surrounded by his friends; hence the enclosed alteration of my former poem on his death which appeared in "Heather Bells."—Yours truly, Wm. Allan.]

Night drew her dark mantle o'er gloomy Balquhidder,
The mist clouds rolled down from each mountain's rough breast,
And wild wailed the wind o'er the dew-laden heather,
In tones of despair for the hero's unrest.
The cold touch of death on Macgregor was falling,
His eagle eyes gleamed 'neath life's lingering fires,
While far-away voices he heard softly calling,
And saw the grey ghosts of his warrior sires.

"Who comes!" spake Macgregor, "that step is a foeman's, My death-sharpened ear knows an enemy's tread, Away, ye pale phantoms! ye voices and omens! Bring—bring me my claymore, wrap round me my plaid! What! Rob Roy defenceless? Ha! ha! it shall never Be said that Macgregor was powerless to smite; A thousand death's terrors may haunt me ere ever A foe shall behold me bereft of my might."

As calm as a monarch in glory reposing,
So lay the old Chief, with his clansmen around;
As bold as a warrior with enemies closing,
Death's slogan he heard, and rejoiced at the sound.
"Who doubts me," he whispered; "unconquered I'm dying,
My bed is the heather I trod in my pride,
My tartan, unsullied, around me is lying,
My sword's in my hand, and a friend by my side."

Afar o'er the mountains strange echoes were trailing,
And deep was the sorrow Balquhidder then saw,
The coronach's numbers of anguish were wailing
Around the cold couch of the vanquished outlaw.
Forever, away from the scenes of his glory,
They laid him to rest 'mid the dust of the brave;
And Scotland will cherish the fame of his story,
As long as her heather bells bloom on his grave.

WM. ALLAN

### THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

### V.—THE PRINCIPLE OF RENT.

EVERY action of nature, connected with, and necessary to, human life and advancement, would seem to be in a state of flux and development. Whatever is rigid and opposes a restraint to this process of development produces irritation and disturbance. A dual land tenure is essentially of this nature, and has, more or less, in every age and in every country, produced like effects. We must, therefore, conclude that something is fundamentally wrong which is at variance with natural harmonies, or, in other words, which does not accord with the instincts of freedom and justice. This is now felt on every hand, and although the best thought of the age is eagerly directed towards some solution, in a final and fundamental law, interested motives, the influence of habit, the established relations of classes, sentimental associations, and the sanction of usage, play so powerful a part that pure reason can hardly penetrate the mists in which it is thus enveloped. The age travels fast. The effects of inventions and the progress of mankind would seem to have outrun the march of thought. We look for precedents, and think that the condition of things that suited our free-and-easy going forefathers a century ago, with a population of one-fourth the present, and not one-tenth part of the wealth, is adapted to meet the exigencies of our greatly altered times.

The subject on which Adam Smith is thought most imperfect is his treatment of rent, and it cannot be denied by his greatest admirers that, in some passages, he attributes value to land which seems to be inconsistent with his fundamental theory that all exchange value consists in labour. These seeming contradictions, or obscurities, arise probably not so much from confusion of thought as from not having always distinguished between the rent of the landlord which resolves itself into profit on his outlay, and that part which accrues to him in excess of this, and which in reality is the rent of political economy. Much obscurity and inconvenience arise in this way from the use of one word in reference to a thing which is compounded of component

parts. But even, after making every allowance in this respect, it must be admitted, I think, that the idea of a natural law of rent may have escaped his comprehensive and acute mind. No doubt, he attributes the phenomenon to its correct cause—increase of population and competition—which, of course, would place it in labour. The great importance he attached to agricultural industry, as the original labour which supports all other labour, appears, however, to have led materialists to think that he gave countenance to the idea, which, in fact, his work was intended to refute, namely, that land has value apart from human labour. The schools appear to me, however, to have been more eager to seize upon what remained doubtful than to expand upon what was free from ambiguity. If he did not condemn rent, or discover its law, he had little to say in its favour, whilst he pointed to it as the most legitimate subject for direct taxation.

Notwithstanding the logical hiatus which has been found in the "Wealth of Nations" on the subject of rent, it may still be regarded as the best text-book, and its definitions as the most explicit, whilst it is not too much to say of the author that he contributed more towards enlightened legislation, and the happiness of a larger section of the human race, than all the economists who either preceded or followed him.

To illustrate the principle of rent, and in order the better to demonstrate its law, on the theory that labour is the foundation of all exchangeable value, the reader will excuse me for giving extracts from what Adam Smith says on the subject, to show that its principle is one of taxation, and that its proper name is land-tax.—

"As soon as the land of any country has become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce. The wood of the forest, the grass of the field, and all the natura fruits of the earth, which, when land was in common, cost the labourer only the trouble of gathering them, come even to him to have an additional price fixed upon them. He must, then, pay for the licence to gather them; and must give up to the landlord a portion of what his labour either collects or produces. This portion, or, what comes to the same thing, the price of this portion, constitutes the rent of land, and in the price of the greater part of commodities makes a third component part.

"The real value of all the different component parts of price, it must be observed, is measured by the quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labour measures the value not only of that part of price which resolves itself into labour, but of that which resolves itself into rent, and of that which resolves itself

into profit."

In my last article reference was made to the statement in the latter paragraph that rent formed a component part of price. Buckle points out that price is made up of wages and profit, and refers to the following passage in the "Wealth of Nations" as the true statement:—

"Rent, it is to be observed, therefore enters into the composition of the price of commodities in a different way from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it." Buckle remarks:—"This latter opinion we now know to be the true one; it is, however, incompatible with that expressed in the first passage. For, if rent is the effect or price, it cannot be a component part of it."

This question will be better understood when we come to treat of the law of rent. In the meantime, it is sufficient to point out that its action is to cut into wages and profit. It cuts inward and reacts outward. As a commercial transaction between man and man, its action is inverse, unnatural. Nothing puzzles a schoolboy's brain so much as to convert an inverse into a direct proportional, and the economists have not yet been able to solve the problem of rent, just because, like blind moles "burrowing i' the ground," they looked for its law in gradations of soil, instead of looking for it in gradations of labour.

What is commonly called the rights of property is, so far as the rent of political economy is concerned, the right to exercise a taxing principle, which is vicious in its operation. It places in the hands of individuals an instrument of power and oppression. It is only in the hands of the Sovereign or State that such a principle is safe, and very often that which ought to accrue to the Sovereign is appropriated by the subject. To make it clear that this is so, let me quote further from the same authority:—

"He sometimes demands rent for what is altogether incapable of human improvement. Kelp is a species of sea-weed, which, when burnt, yields an alkaline salt, useful for making glass, soap, and for several other purposes. It grows in several parts of Great Britain, particularly in Scotland, upon such rocks only as lie within the highwater mark, which are twice every day covered with the sea, and of which the produce, therefore, was never augmented by human industry. The landlord, however, whose estate is bounded by a kelp shore of this kind, demands a rent for it as much as for his corn-fields.

"The sea in the neighbourhood of the Islands of Shetland is more than commonly abundant in fish, which make a great part of the subsistence of their inhabitants. But in order to profit by the produce of the water, they must have a habitation upon the neighbouring land. The rent of the landlord is in proportion, not to what the farmer can make by the land, but to what he can make both by the land and by the water.

It is partly paid in sea-fish; and one of the very few instances in which rent makes a part of the price of that commodity is to be found in that country.

"But what all the violence of the feudal institutions could never have effected, the silent and insensible operation of foreign commerce and manufactures brought about. These gradually furnished the great proprietors with something for which they could exchange the whole surplus produce of their lands, and which they could consume themselves without sharing it with either tenants or retainers. All for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind."

One more quotation to show that rent is not only the landtax of the State, but to furnish an instance where its delegation to the zemindars of Bengal has been attended with the evil effects which are experienced in the United Kingdom.—

"The land-tax or land-rent which used to be paid to the Mahomedan Government of Bengal before the country fell into the hands of the East India Company is said to have amounted to about a fifth part of the produce. The land-tax of ancient

Egypt is said likewise to have amounted to a fifth part.

"In Asia this sort of land-tax is said to interest the sovereign in the improvement and cultivation of land. The sovereigns of China, those of Bengal, while under Mahomedan Government, and those of ancient Egypt, are said accordingly to have been extremely attentive to the making and maintaining good roads and navigable canals, n order to increase as much as possible both the quantity and value of every part of the produce of the land, by procuring to every part of it the most extensive market which their own dominion could afford."

In nearly all Asiatic countries, and particularly in India, the cultivator holds the land direct from Government. His right, indeed, is original and indefeasible, paying the land-rent or landtax through headmen of villages and districts, who, like the feudal chiefs, had certain duties and jurisdictions but no proprietorial right. Such was the case in Bengal until 1793, when the East Indian Company made a fixed settlement of the revenue with the zemindars, which conferred upon them proprietorial rights, inasmuch as they were made free to levy rent in their own right on the principle of "freedom of contract," whilst they paid a fixed sum to Government. The unfortunate population was handed over to the rapacity of revenue collectors, and the Government surrendered the future increment of the land-tax, whilst leaving unborn generations at the mercy of irresponsible tyrants. This unwise measure has been most oppressive to the ryots, or cultivators, and has resulted in a loss to the Government of India of ten millions sterling per annum at the present value of the land. 2

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The case of Bengal is one of peculiar interest to the British economist and legislature, as it presents an almost exact counterpart of what has taken place at home. Repeated legislative enactments of a temporising character have from time to time been passed with a view to counteract or mitigate the fundamental mistake that had been committed, but they have all proved of no avail. The Government of India cannot put Bengal back to 1793. Just as I write, I read in the *Times* of yesterday (9th April) the following telegram from Culcutta:—

"There is a great consternation and dismay among the Behar zemindars on the publication of the Bengal Tenant Bill. Right of occupancy is given to the ryots if they have held the smallest bit of land for twelve years. In all lands subsequently held by them, irrespective of length of holding, transferibility is given to such rights. Freedom of contract is denied to the zemindars. The maximum of enhancement is fixed at a fifth of the value of the produce. Existing rates are interfered with. All this is against permanent settlement. At a monster meeting of zemindars of Arrah to-day, presided over by Maharajah Doomra, at which all the zemindars, Europeans included, were present, resolutions were passed, condemning the bill, and protesting against infringement of permanent settlement."

All this is against permanent settlement! What is permanent, except freedom and justice?

As a matter of revenue, the "permanent settlement," by which British landowners pay a fixed land-tax of £1,050,000 on the valuation of 1692, is a greater injustice to the British tax-payer than the loss of revenue which has resulted to the Government of India, for, on the rating of one-fifth, the British Exchequer ought to derive twenty-six millions sterling from land. British landlords are, therefore, like the zemindars of Bengal, by unjust legislation, in possession of the revenue of the Sovereign; but what is still worse, they wield the taxing power of the Sovereign over the wages and profits of farmers.

In the presence of agricultural distress, and with the existence of something like famine in our midst, could we but compare the present with the past, and estimate our greater capacity for meeting every such adverse contingency, it should go far to convince us that the universal scheme of increase and development is not checked by the "niggardliness" of nature, but by the sordidness and injustice of the masters of mankind. We think of India as teeming with a starving and redundant population. We do not think of her idle, fattened, greasy, and besotted rajahs and zemindars. We do not think of her unoccu-

pied wastes and immense food-yielding capacities. Burmah, for instance, exports one-half of her rice crop, and only one-ninth part of her culturable area is under actual cultivation. Within the last few years the exports of wheat from Bombay have risen from nothing to the value of nearly four millions sterling last year, obtained from the black soils of Rajpootana, which are of as great fertility as the black soils of Southern Russia.

In truth, what has taken place in Bengal is nearly an exact counterpart of what took place in the Highlands. Feudal chieftains were turned into landlords, and sheep farms have been to the crofters what indigo planting has been to the ryots. Whisky distilling has been turned into a practical Government monopoly, as the cultivation of the poppy has been turned into a Government monopoly of opium. To raise the revenue of the State by the nefarious means of administering to the vices of mankind, and to relinquish the natural revenue, which appears, by a law of nature, to be designed for the Sovereign, into the hands of idle oppressors, is surely enough to call down the displeasure of Heaven, if we still believe in a scheme of moral government.

The kelp rent furnishes an instance of greater public and economic injustice than the history of any civilised country can supply. No people in the world has been visited by so stern an adversity of fortune as the Highlanders of Scotland. The kelp trade was of as little advantage to the people as the introduction of the potato, for the gratuitous gifts of nature, which, in the progress of civilisation, ought to have greatly added to their resources, merely enabled the chieftains to deprive them of their ancient pastoral domains on the one hand, and on the other to appropriate the fruits of their labour.

If they had been quite free to gather the sea-weed on their own account, and to sell the burnt kelp, the proceeds of their industry would have enabled them to buy up the whole Highlands back again, and brought them into a high state of cultivation. The introduction of Spanish barilla supplied a cheaper material for the manufactures in which kelp was used, but the trade might have longer survived if the enterprise of the people had been allowed full play, and under that condition of freedom possibly some genius might have discovered a more economic method of preparation. As the sea-weed is produced without

the aid of any human labour upon Crown lands, it was clearly an act of injustice towards the British public to have been taxed by a few individuals in respect of soap and glass for what was produced on public property. Still there appear to be men of some education who regard the free introduction of Spanish barilla as an act of confiscation of the property of Highland proprietors.

Sometime ago I was more than surprised to read in the pages of this magazine that a Christian minister viewed the matter in this light. He says—

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"The Act abolishing the duty on Spanish barilla, which, in one year, entirely swept away the kelp trade, from which his predecessors (Lord Macdonald's) had been deriving a revenue of £20,000 a-year, and the Highland Chief, Macdonald of Clan Ranald, by the same Act of Parliament, lost a revenue of £18,000 a-year. All the sea-board landowners lost in the same proportion, and, as a matter of course, they had no longer the means of giving employment to their tenants, who used to make a good deal of money by manufacturing kelp. With such sudden and unlooked-for confiscation of property, is it any cause of wonder that Highland proprietors got into financial difficulties?"

As the foreshores and the sea-weed are still there, it is difficult to know what was confiscated, unless, indeed, the Act contained a clause of manumission, in which case the Highland proprietors, like the West Indies slaveowners, might have established a claim for compensation. But, as the Highlanders have always been considered free men, and, as the sea-weed was produced on Crown lands, it appears to me that the Parliament ought to have instructed the Woods and Forests Department to call for a count and reckoning from the Highland proprietors.

A belief in the divine right of kings was a mild form of superstition as compared with this infatuation, which one is surprised to find still lingering in a dark corner of the Highlands. With a revenue of £18,000 and £20,000 a-year the Macdonalds ought to have accummulated great wealth. How they came to poverty over it, and how their tenants are paupers upon a Mansion House Fund, will probably be best explained by another quotation from the "Wealth of Nations":—

"For a pair of diamond buckles, perhaps, or for something as frivolous and useless, they exchanged the maintenance, or, what is the same thing, the price of the maintenance of a thousand men for a year, and with it the whole weight and authority which it could give them. The buckles, however, were to be all their own, and no human creature was to have any share of them; whereas in the more ancient method of expense they must have shared with at least a thousand people." The clergyman who deplores the confiscation of the rent of kelp has evidently a great sympathy with the owners of diamond buckles!

It is very erroneously supposed that the evils of our British land tenures arise out of the immense estates into which the country is divided. That, in fact, is rather a mitigation than an aggravation of the system, for large and wealthy owners are likely to deal indulgently with their tenants. No doubt the great facility that has been given to speculative farmers has tended to banish a lusty peasantry to the larger towns, and driven some to the poorhouse, but a great sub-division of the land would not cure that evil. The fact that we import about £50,000,000 worth of the produce of petite culture is a proof that, although large farms may have shown a greater amount of surplus produce in grain and live stock, there may arise to the nation an actual loss in men and more requisite articles of consumption which are not so easily obtained at a moderate price as meat and grain, whilst a depletion of the rural population is a great loss to the trade of the towns.

But, although those countries where land is more sub-divided are more amply supplied with that class of produce at cheaper rates, and possess a more numerous and more prosperous peasantry the root-evil appears in a still more aggravated form on small estates than on large properties. This has been experienced in Ireland, where the worst of all landlords were small and needy speculators drawn from the commercial classes. In the Low Countries, as M. de Laveleye informs us, this class of owners, who, instead of working their own land, resort to letting it out, the tenants are rack-rented, and are miserably poor. The evil is, therefore, not one of degree, but one of kind.—

The correspondent of the *Times* at Shanghai, writing some months ago, testifies to the same result in China:—"The land laws are by no means unfavourable to the distribution of wealth. Indeed, theorists who are fond of advocating the land for the people in the form of peasant proprietorship might take a leaf from the Chinese Statute-Book on this head. The general rule is that there can be no proprietorship in waste lands. All land not under tillage belongs to the Crown, but can be converted into private property by the simple expedient of bringing it under cultivation and undertaking to pay the taxes. The cultivator thereupon receives a Government title free of cost which is good against all the world."

Then as to the evil effects of sub-letting, he adds-

"The possession of a plot of land, however small, implies at least something in the way of capital, but below these again there is another class of cultivators, who, as tenants, farm the land of those who from circumstances or disposition do not care to do so themselves. . . . These cultivators are invariably men of no capital, their stock-in-trade consisting of a few rude and simple instruments costing a mere trifle. It is on this class that the pinch of poverty falls in bad years."

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It, therefore, appears to be a matter of universal experience that the cultivator who owns land is always possessed of something good against the pinch of poverty, whilst tenant farmers, unless large capitalists, are everywhere an oppressed and beggarly lot.

Now, as the institution of property in Great Britain is based upon a title from the Crown, as lord paramount, all owners may be regarded as tenants, and it is clearly competent for the Crown by advice of Parliament to issue an edict forbidding the subletting of land, as a custom which is found to be contrary to public policy. Then every owner of land might be safely allowed to do what he likes with his own—to work it by hired labour, or sell what he might find too much for his capital to stock, or of too great an extent for his supervision. This, however, appertains more to the domain of practical politics, and I shall therefore conclude this paper by making a summary of the foregoing remarks as to the principle of rent.

I. Its origin is a sovereign right, or the taxing power of the Sovereign. This land-tax, by a law of increase, increases as population increases. By its inverse action, when it exceeds the natural appreciation of the superficies, it cuts into wages and profit, and reacts on price in limiting production.

2. A taxing power over the gratuitous gifts of nature is in reality a tax upon the whole people. Its appropriation by a portion of the subjects is a species of usurpation, and its delegation by the Sovereign is an unjust abnegation of sovereign right.

3. It is contrary, as a business relationship, to the scheme of nature, inasmuch as the flexible nature of the soil does not admit of adjusting equities, for the landlord may confiscate the labour of the tenant, and the tenant may rob the landlord by exhausting the soil. Further, inasmuch as a fixed rent is a certain amount for an uncertain return, it is a species of gambling in the dispensations of Providence.

So long as the right to lend or sub-let land is conceded to

subjects in any country—in America and Australia, as well as in Europe—the same consequences must follow—the engrossment of large tracts of country in view of increase of population, and then taking advantage of their necessity. The law in every country regarding land might be expressed in the following well-known lines:—

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be, For loan oft loses both itself and friend, And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry."

Guernsey.

MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

### PLEA FOR BEING A "GALL," YET SYMPATHIZING WITH THE GAIDHEAL

In Aberbrothock I was born, An ancient town that none can scorn (Tho' more than thirty years have passed Since I was in my birthplace last), And where to-day you may behold The ruins of an Abbey old, Which tho' bereft of all its glory, Will live for aye in Scottish story, And all my forbears I may say Belonged to Counties North the Tay, And half the blood within my frame From Sgiathanach and Strathspey came: Wherefore as it appears to me, A true-born Scotsman I must be; Yet when in some Hebridean Isle I chose to pitch my tent a while, Some agent of the Laird, in fright Lest his transactions come to light, Will say to me, "You are a Gall And have no business here at all, With everything you interfere As if you were the master here, And all we think it best to hide You learn and publish far and wide. You tell the Laird what he should do As though the land belonged to you, And, though a coigreach and intruder, Scold him in cainnt that can't be ruder; You take evicted crofters' parts And fan rebellion in their hearts,

Till they their disaffection vent
In bold appeals to Parliament;
Their hopes, long crushed, you raise to life,
And seem to glory in the strife,
You are a fire-brand and a curse,
To Gaidhealtachd never came a worse,
You do more mischief where you settle
Than would the Colorado beetle,
And if the law would but agree
I'd have you tossed into the sea."

But by their leave I am a Scot, Who feels at home in every spot, From Tweed's broad stream to John o'Groat, From Eilean h-Iort to Buchanness, And if therein I see distress I have a right to use my pen When it can help my countrymen. That man I do not much admire Who feels but for his native shire: The thoughts of whose contracted mind To his own parish are confined; Who fancies all beyond that place A foreign and inferior race: Who would to suit his narrow view Divide poor Scotland into two-As for myself I feel akin To all who dwell in Albinn.

J. SANDS.

THE GLENDALE "MARTYRS."—The three crofters imprisoned for two months in Edinburgh for breach of interdict were liberated on Tuesday, 15th May, at 8 A.M., when they were met by about 1000 people, headed by two pipers, who marched to the Ship Hotel, and there entertained the liberated men to a public breakfast. The same evening John Macpherson, after visiting friends in Glasgow, proceeded to Skye by Strome Ferry, so that he might reach Glendale in time to be examined by the Royal Commission on the following Saturday. It became known in Skye that Macpherson was coming, and the Portree and Braes people determined to give him a warm reception. As the "Clydesdale" approached the Braes, three bonfires were seen ablaze, and several flags were flying in the breeze. When the steamer rounded into Portree Bay, a large crowd could be seen on the pier, while numbers were flocking from all parts of the village in the same direction. Macpherson having been observed on deck the crowd cheered vociferously, while hats were raised and handkerchiefs waved by the assembled multitude. Before he could place his foot on shore he was raised on the shoulders of four stalwart fellows, who carried him aloft, hat in hand, and bowing to the crowd, amid the enthusiasm of the people, to the Portree Hotel, Colin, the piper, leading the way, playing appropriate airs. Macpherson, on his arrival at the hotel, addressed the people, warmly thanking all his friends and the friends of the people of Skye, North and South, and urging upon his countrymen to insist upon getting justice now that it was within their reach. "If Joseph," he said, "had never been sent into Egyptian bondage, the children of Israel might never have got out of it." He believed the imprisonment of the Glendale crofters had done more to remove landlord tyranny and oppression from Skye than anything which happened during the present century. He was afterwards entertained in Mr Macinnes's excellently conducted hotel. Several of the Braes men came all the way to Portree to honour one

# A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES. By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

### VI.—ONTARIO.

THE great Province of Ontario is entitled to something more than mere passing notice, and Toronto, its capital, is perhaps the best point from which to take a general survey of it. The extent of the Province is variously estimated at from 120,000 to 200,000 square miles—the lowest estimate thus making it about equal in size to Great Britain and Ireland. What the exact figures are will not be known until the whole Province has been surveyed. A great part of its territory, however, situated to the north of the townships fronting the St Lawrence, and to the north-west, consists of lands which are at present unpeopled, and a great part of which will probably remain so for some years to come. The settled portion of the Province of Ontario extends to something like 50,000 square miles—about the size of England—and it is with this part of its territory we have now to deal. Beginning in the east, at the boundary with Ouebec, the Province stretches westwards along the St Lawrence, the shores of Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St Clair (a small lake situated between Lakes Huron and Erie), Lake Huron, with the large land-locked sea known as the Georgian Bay, then eastwards by Lake Nipissing to the Ottawa River, and so down again to the St Lawrence. This is the territory which, although only a part of the real Province of Ontario, is generally meant when that Province is now spoken or written about. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this is the only part of Ontario fit for settlement. Year by year the limits of settlement are extending, and, in spite of the counterattraction of Manitoba, Ontaria will not only hold its own, but will doubtless continue to grow.

Notwithstanding the nearness of the two Provinces to each other, their constant intercommunication and political union, Ontario, even to a casual visitor, makes an impression entirely distinct from that made by Quebec. The large proportion which French-speaking people bear to the total population in the latter

Province gives it a semi-foreign aspect, although the loyalty of its people and its press—one might almost say their ultra-loyalty -impresses one very strongly with the truth of the late Sir George Cartier's reply to the enquiry of the Oueen when she asked "What, Sir George, is a French Canadian?" "Your Majesty," he replied, "he is an Englishman who speaks French." Yet, although in sentiment the French Canadian is an Englishman, the fact that he speaks a language foreign to his fellowsubjects at home has a tendency at first to make an Englishspeaking stranger wonder why he is loyal, as if his loyalty required to be accounted for. In Ontario, on the other hand, except on the boundary of Quebec, French is scarcely ever heard. Ontario is in fact the English-speaking Province of older Canada, and the emigrant or visitor from this country at once finds himself at home. In course of time another great English-speaking province, or, more properly, several English-speaking provinces, will grow up in the North-west, in Manitoba and the region beyond; but at present this description is applicable only to Ontario, and this fact, together with its comparative nearness to this country, draws to Ontario a number of emigrants, who, but for the greater distance, and the natural disinclination of persons accustomed to live in a thickly-peopled country to transport themselves to a thinly-peopled one, would probably go further west. The large number of Scotch settlers and men of Scotch descent in Ontario, and the generous warmth with which they welcome a wayfaring fellow-countryman, tend of course to make the first impressions of the Province pleasant to a Scottish visitor; but, apart from this feeling of friendship, the two Provinces strike a stranger as standing out from each other, as having not only different languages, but distinct habits, feelings, and modes of thought; and of the two, Ontario, as might be expected, approaches nearer to our home standard.

The River St Lawrence has already been referred to, and the amount of water which it carries to the Atlantic has been mentioned. But figures give a very inadequate idea of the water system of North America. It is only when one comes to sail upon the American rivers and lakes that their size is fairly realised. Lake Ontario, the smallest of the five great lakes drained by the St Lawrence, is 190 miles long, and 55 miles

wide at its broadest part, and has an area of between five and six thousand square miles; while Lake Huron, the second largest in size, is 280 miles long, 105 miles wide exclusive of the Georgian Bay, has a total area of 20,400 square miles, and has its surface studded with no less than 3000 considerable islands. Superior, the largest of the lakes, whose northern and eastern shores are formed by the Province of Ontario, is 420 miles long, 160 miles wide, and 1750 miles in circumference, and covers an area of 32,000 square miles. This great inland sea has a drainage area of about 100,000 square miles, and receives the waters of 200 streams, 30 of them being of considerable size. Looking at these lakes on a map, dwarfed as they are by the continent around them, they do not impress one as being very large, but the traveller upon them finds it very difficult to realise that he is sailing only on inland lakes, and not on the open Speaking of the voyage along the Lake of the Woods, a comparatively small lake compared with Superior or Huron, Lord Dufferin once said to a Winnipeg audience that the traveller would be surprised to find himself as sea-sick as ever he had been crossing the Atlantic, a remark which applies with even greater force to the larger lakes, where the voyager may sail for days together without seeing land. This water system gives to the whole of Canada, but especially to the Province of Ontario, commercial advantages of the first importance. Almost every part of the Province is brought within easy distance of the world's market by two competing lines of transit, ship and rail, and in this way neither mode is so expensive as to burden the the profits of the farmer.

The position of Toronto, on the shore of Lake Ontario, makes it the natural centre for collecting and distributing the greater part of the produce of Central Ontario. Its people have made the best use of their natural advantages, and by means of their energy and integrity, Toronto is rapidly becoming a formidable rival to Montreal as the commercial centre of Canada, although the position of the latter city, at the head of the ocean navigation, and the fact that most of the great railway interests of Canada are centered there, make it highly improbable that it will ever be outstripped by its western rival.

Ontario has been called the Garden of the Dominion of

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Canada, and the title seems fairly earned. In course of a very few years, Ontario, as a wheat-producing country, will be distanced by Manitoba and the North-west, but it must remain the great fruit-producing province, both the climate and the soil of a great part of it being apparently peculiarly adapted for fruitgrowing. But it is not merely a fruit-producing country—it is, all over, a good agricultural country also. Beginning at the extreme south-west of the Province, on the borders of Lake Erie. the land produces all the cereals, including Indian corn, while at the same time it is well adapted to the growth of the finer kinds of fruit, as grapes and peaches, and large quantities of grapes are grown every year for export. In the counties on the shores of Lake Huron, including the southern part of the Georgian Bay, the principal crops are wheat, barley, and oats, but grapes and peaches are also produced along the shores of the Georgian Bay in large quantities, and that part of the Province is famed for the quality and the vast quantity of plums it produces. In the inland western counties there is some timber-land; but the soil where cleared is good and well watered, while the land under cultivation produces wheat, barley, and oats. The counties bordering on Lake Ontario are the longest settled in the Province, and there both farming and gardening have made the greatest progress. Both climate and soil are favourable for the cultivation of all sorts of cereals and fruits, and the practice of holding every year local exhibitions of products has in the past tended, by giving rise to healthy competition, to improve both fruits and crops. These exhibitions are not by any means confined to the Lake Ontario counties-they are held under the auspices of local societies all over the Province. Ontario is full of organizations for the promotion and encouragement of anything or everything. Ten years ago the Province contained three hundred societies, organized according to law for the promotion of agriculture, horticulture, and the mechanical arts, the principal means adopted being the holding of annual exhibitions in their several localities. Since that time the number has not decreased, although it is now beginning to be felt that there may be too much of even such a good thing as exhibitions. During the month of September last there was in Toronto an exhibition of the products of various industries of the district; a day or two after it closed, a Provincial Exhibition

was opened at Kingston; and, overlapping both, there was a great exhibition in Montreal. The Toronto and Montreal Exhibitions I was present at, and both of them were large and successful: and, judging from the newspaper reports which I saw at the time, not only in Ontario, but in Manitoba, which sent an exhibit to Kingston, the exhibition at the latter city was highly successful also, but yet one of the principal speakers during the Montreal Exhibition struck a chord to which his hearers heartily responded, when he said that the Dominion was wasting its strength by holding a large number of local exhibitions, which in effect competed with each other, entailed a heavy tax upon exhibitors, and prevented the holding of one large exhibition representing the whole of Canada. From the manner in which this speech was received by the Canadian press, it seems probable that for the future the number of local exhibitions may decrease, and while in the present circumstances of the country, this need not, perhaps, be regretted, it should not be forgotten that the Ontario of to-day (to keep to the Province of which I am writing), with some four thousand miles of railway, is somewhat different from the Ontario of thirty years ago, when the Province had not one mile of railway; and that, while in many cases local exhibitions may now have ceased to perform any useful function, to their existence in the past much of the past advancement and present prosperity of Ontario are due.

But to return to the products of Ontario. Butter and cheese are produced in large quantities for export, and a large number of cattle are also exported. In the twelve months ending 30th June 1878, Canada exported of her own produce, exclusive of shipments made at her ports of produce from the States, 13,000,000 lbs. of butter, and 38,000,000 lbs. of cheese. The figures for subsequent years, if we had them, would probably show a very large increase over 1878, as the exportation of cheese alone had, at that time, doubled in five years. Barley is almost always a sure crop in Ontario, and produces from 30 to 40 bushels per acre, while fall wheat, with good farming, is said to produce from 35 to 40 bushels per acre, and with indifferent farming from 20 to 25. Spring wheat, oats, and peas also produce heavy crops. Indian corn is grown, but principally for green fodder. Stock-raising for the market is a business

which is also engaged in pretty extensively, and in this branch of industry the experience of the Ontario farmer approaches more nearly to that of the British farmer than in many other parts of America. Ontario has no great runs of prairie pasture, such as exist further west in Canada, and in many parts of the States. but its climate and soil afford special facilities for preparing the raw material produced on the prairies for the market. A British farmer, writing of his experience in Ontario, says-" We can take a Durham or Hereford cross steer from its milk when six months old, put it upon green or dry fodders, according to the season of the year, with bran and peas meal, or corn meal, and within 24 months, place it on our seaboard at an average live weight of 1400 lbs., and at a cost not exceeding £14. In this and all its connections there necessarily arises a large profit." This is probably true enough, yet during all the time I was in Canada I was not able to get a beef steak which any ordinary teeth could get through with comfort, but this may have arisen through all the best beef being sent to the British market.

It is from fruit-growing, however, that Ontario landowners and occupiers obtain the best returns. This industry is encouraged by an association, which, in addition to its revenue from members' subscriptions, receives a handsome subsidy from the Provincial Government. The many varieties of apples produced in Ontario, I can say from personal experience, are unsurpassed for size, flavour, and beauty, and they are produced in very large quantities. Peaches and strawberries are also extensively cultivated, and, during the season, the latter fruit is delivered at the different Lake Ports and Railway Depots in cart-loads. At present a considerable trade is done with Britain in apples, and the Canadians believe that, with some care in packing, the trade will be largely developed in a very few years. In the interest of all lovers of really good fruit, I sincerely hope they are right.

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A Scottish Judge recently remarked in my presence, in course of a conversation on Canadian farming, that there was no such thing as payment of rent for farming land in Canada, and this seems to be a pretty general opinion. It is, however, a mistake. The agricultural tenant is not altogether unknown, although he is not so frequently met with as in this country. In the counties bordering on Lake Erie, farms may be leased for from 6s. to 20s. per acre.

In the Niagara district the renting of farms is not common, but they may be had for about 12s. per acre. In the Lake Huron counties rents range from 8s. to 18s., according to the state of cultivation, and the common length of the lease seems to be about five years. In the midland counties a farm of 100 acres may be rented for from £20 to £80, and in some cases rents of 20s. per acre are obtained. In the northern counties rents are as low as 2s. per acre, while in the counties bordering on Lake Ontario they mount up, in some cases, to 28s. per acre. But after all the tenant-farmer is the exception in Canada. Of 367,862 persons who, according to the census of 1871, occupied land in the four Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, 324,160 were owners, 39,583 tenants, and only 2119 farm labourers or servants, so that tenantfarmers and farmers tilling their own land were in the proportion of something like one to nine, a proportion which probably still holds good for the same Provinces. Farms too, as a rule, are of moderate size, there being in Ontario comparatively few holdings of over 200 acres. Of the total number of landholders already given, over 223,000 held between 50 and 200 acres, while of the remainder, holding less than 50 and more than 200 acres, the majority were in Ouebec, where, on the one hand, the French law of inheritance leads to the subdivision of the land among families, and, on the other, the old French Seigniories have established and perpetuated a class of large landed proprietors with their tenant-farmers.

The tenant-farmer in Ontario knows that, by the exercise of industry and frugality, he can become proprietor of as much land as he can turn to good account. If he is not able, or does not desire to purchase the farm of which he is tenant, he may obtain an allotment of Free-Grant land from Government, or he may purchase wild land which can be had from Government at an average price of one dollar per acre. If he is within easy distance of the land so acquired, the farmer may, with the assistance of his family, clear a great portion of it in the winter, while he still continues to cultivate the farm of which he is tenant. Or if the new land is further away he may construct a log cabin and fulfil the conditions of residence during the season when ordinary farm work cannot be done, and at the same time clear the t

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new land. In this way, in the course of a few years, he may remove to a farm of which he is proprietor, and which will by that time have been sufficiently cleared to enable him to live upon it, and parts of which will probably have borne several crops before the owner comes to reside upon it permanently. But even should this method of acquiring a farm of his own not be possible to a tenant-farmer on account of his distance from the Free-Grant or unsettled lands, he may, if he is industrious and careful, easily acquire a cleared farm as proprietor. Land is cheap and plentiful, and Ontario is full of loan companies who are always anxious to do business, and who do a large and in almost every case a safe as well as profitable business, and the acquisition of a farm for himself is made all the more easy to the tenant-farmer by the fact that he can borrow money, not only on the security of the farm itself, but of the stock and crop on it.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

### AN OLD STRATHNAVER MAN'S BALLAD.

Composed on the occasion of opposing the nomination of a certain Nobleman as Patron of the Glasgow Northern Benevolent Society.

TUNE-"Wha'll be King but Charlie."

When I was a young, a thoughtless lad,
Along the banks of Naver—(!)
Soldiering was then the trade
That got us lands and favour!
Come Angus, come Ronald, come Iver and Donald,
No men on earth are braver;
If you but list, the lands then, trust,
Are your's, said Factor Shaver.

It was our fate to take the bait
Laid out by Factor Slaver;
With coats of red, to fire and blood,
We sped from Shin and Naver!
Yes, Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
To Ireland went to save her;
The croppies fled, with wounds and dread—
No corps than ours was braver.

### THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

When peace came round, our lands we found,
By Donnan, Shin, and Naver;
Where our forbears, for thousand years,
Had crops, and flocks, and favour.
Then Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Had mutton and beef of flavour,
Had sheep and wool, and pantries full,
And dainties sweet of savour.

But soon, alas! it came to pass,
That sheep got high in favour;
The lady grand, that claimed our land,
Was led by Factor Slave-her!
When Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Who'd fight and die to save her,
In sad dismay, were forced away
From Donnan, Shin, and Naver!

This, then, the promise of the land,
Was broke by Factor Shaver;
His rude command none could withstand,
Or plans, his wealth to favour!
Though Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Might say the lands of Naver
Were their's, deserved as long preserved,
By their forefathers' valour!

Theories, ready to dupe our lady,
Were broached by Factor Crave-her;
To his command she did attend,
To heartless plans he drave her!
Poor Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Distressed, perplexed, did waver;
While Factor Greed, with reckless speed,
Seized on the best of Naver!

Factor Vaults, with Jezebel faults,
Has never lost her favour,
Nor Factor Lake, who wrote and spake
That sour of sweet did savour!
While Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
The men the lands that gave her,
Must now give place to Southron race,
Not better yet nor braver!

Far worse than Egypt's wasting plagues, Wrought dismal desolation, Glens, straths—yes, parishes at once— Were swept of population! Yet Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald, Thus brought to faint starvation, Were told that now, without a plough, Their state was exaltation.

The Factors crammed them on hard moors,
Unfit for fir plantation,
Where neither sheep, nor hen, could keep
Itself from bleak starvation!
Where Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Sunk deep in degradation
(To Highland race, a foul disgrace),
As paupers on the nation!

Yet finest land, is left to stand,
Quite in a state of nature,
Without a dyke, or drain, or plough,
Or trace of human creature!
While Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Men of strength and stature,
Are languishing without a plough,
On moors of grimest feature!

Twenty thousand, 'long the shores,'
'Mongst rocks and moors are starving,
Without a prospect any more
To rise by their deserving!
While trampled o'er they're by a score,
Who all the power reserving,
Of hoarding princely wealth in store,
As clear to all observing!

Some went down to Glasgow town,
Got on, though some are weavers—
But suiting best, the more went west,
To chase the elks and beavers!
Where Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Who did their best endeavour,
Got to their feet, with crops of wheat,
Far off from Factor Shaver!

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.—The evidence led in the Isle of Skye alone is admitted on all hands to have more than justified the issue of the Royal Commission, by the Government, to enquire into the grievances of the Highland crofters. The landlords stand aghast at the disclosures already made, in spite of the terror under which some of the witnesses gave their evidence.

<sup>\*</sup> Dornoch and elsewhere along the Coast.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

#### VI.

ALLAN CAMERON'S reign proved one of the most cloudy and disastrous in the history of the clan, though he was one of its bravest His constant feuds with the and most distinguished chiefs. Mackintoshes and with the Earls of Huntly and Argyll kept him in constant hot water, and in the end he lost the greater portion of the lands which had been acquired by his predecessors; while he was, for a time at least, at the same time compelled to acknowledge Argyll as his superior, and to hold the remaining portion of his lands as this Earl's vassal. The family Seannachie gives a most interesting, and on the whole correct, narrative of these and of the other local feuds which occurred during Allan's rule, and we shall draw upon him pretty freely in this chapter. He describes how Mackintosh resolved to be revenged upon Cameron of Lochiel for past raids into his country, and how for that purpose he prevailed upon the Earl of Argyll, whose sister he had married, to invade Lochaber from the West, while, with all the forces he could raise, he himself attacked him from the North, expecting that he would thus compel his antagonist to submit to such terms as he would be pleased to offer him. Lochiel, though he knew nothing of this confederacy, was so much on his guard, that Mackintosh found him quite prepared to stop his passage across the Lochy. Both parties continued inactive for several days. But provisions at last failing him, Mackintosh was reduced to great straits, Lochiel's party increased daily, and there was no appearance of the expected assistance to his opponent from Argyll; so that Mackintosh was ultimately obliged to take advantage of the night by beating a retreat. Lochiel, suspecting that a stratagem was intended by his opponent, pursued him with great caution, until, convinced that the enemy had really retired, he would have been glad to have overtaken him and given him battle, but Mackintosh was soon out of reach.\*

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<sup>\*</sup> History of the Mackintoshes, pp. 298-99.

No sooner had Allan returned to the Isle of Lochiel, where he then lived, than he was informed of the arrival of another body of the enemy from the West, which not a little surprised him; for he was far from expecting any invasion from that quarter. This force was commanded by Campbell of Ardkinlas, who drew up his men, about 800, at Achinloinbeg, opposite the island, but on being informed that the Mackintoshes had left, he retired to Inchdoricher, where he was well sheltered, and resolved to remain there for the night.

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Lochiel, who had that morning dispersed his followers, immediately issued orders to have them again convened with all haste, and with his ordinary servants, only eleven in number, he managed to find his way, by private paths, where the Campbells had encamped, and having carefully viewed them, he resolved to try to frighten them away with the few followers he had. He thought the attempt might be made without much danger, for they were surrounded by lofty hills and dense woods on every side. With this object he placed his men at suitable distances from each other, and instructed them to fire, all at once, upon a given signal. and then to fall upon their faces on the ground. This performance was repeatedly gone through, and the enemy, several of whom were killed, became greatly alarmed. Thinking they had been surrounded on all sides, and afraid to advance or retreat, they continued where they were until morning, when they hurriedly retired and returned home.

But the severe laws that were exacted at the time for reducing the Highlands and for settling the peace of the country, gave Allan much more uneasiness than all the power of his enemies, and in the end did him greater injury. The Ministers of State, observing that the public were defrauded of the Crown rents and revenues in many parts, procured an Act of Parliament commanding all chiefs and proprietors of estates in the Highlands and Islands holding of the Crown to appear personally in the Court of Exchequer before the 20th day of May following, under pain of forfeiture, and not only to exhibit all their charters and writs, but also to find bail and security to pay the Crown revenues, to make redress to all parties injured by losses and damages previously sustained, and to live peaceably in all time coming.

This was a terrible blow to Lochiel, for he could not appear in consequence of the sentence of forfeiture and proscription previously passed against him, and as yet unremoved, "whereby he lost one of the best estates in the Highlands." All this was owing to his enemy Mackintosh, who engaged him in the fatal league with the Earl of Huntly, who not only neglected Lochiel, contrary to express stipulation when he made his peace with the King, but with the greatest ingratitude, took advantage of Cameron's misfortunes.

Lochiel took every means in his power to procure a remission, so as to enable him to obey the Act of Parliament. But the time was so short, and the avarice of the courtiers so great (for they made a good market of these forfeitures), that he did not succeed, and the Act was vigorously enforced. Lochiel finding himself thus in the greatest danger of losing his whole estate, and foreseeing that he would soon be surrounded by a multitude of new enemies, as it would be the interest of all who shared in it to reduce his power and keep him down, he resolved to arrange his differences with Mackintosh, who was willing to accept any terms which admitted his right of property to the lands in dispute, in the form of a regular treaty. Meantime, Mackintosh, immediately after his return from Edinburgh, where he went to Court to obtain new charters to his estate, on giving obedience to the new Act, invaded Lochaber at the head of a large force. He was, however, met by Lochiel, who was quite prepared to give him a warm reception. Friends on both sides interposed, and, in 1598, brought about an arrangement by which both parties agreed to the following articles:-

"Mackintosh mortgaged to Lochiel and his heirs one half of the lands in dispute for the sum of 6000 merks, and gave him the other half for the service of the men living upon them for 19 years; Lochiel's former title was reserved entire, but forfeitable with the money in case he should occasion a rupture of the friendship and amity then brought about between them, by any subsequent invasion or act of hostility, and Mackintosh became bound to preserve the same under very severe penalties."

While Lochiel was busy in arranging means for saving or recovering other parts of his property, an accident occurred that disconcerted all his measures, and drew new enemies upon him. Donald MacIan of Ardnamurchan, who had been betrothed to one of Lochiel's daughters, was basely murdered by his own uncle, while he was providing himself with a suitable equipage

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for his wedding, which, according to custom of the times, he was to have celebrated with great magnificence. The murderer, commonly known as "Mac Mhic Eoghainn," was a man of gigantic size and strength, and possessed the district of Suainart on lease from his nephew, MacIan, whom he killed; not, it is said, in resentment of any injury done to him, but with the view of succeeding him in his estate and command of the clan as the next heir. For MacIan, Lochiel had the highest esteem on account of his many excellent qualities; and he no sooner heard of his death than he determined to revenge it. The murderer, in dread of Lochiel's resentment, fled with all his goods and cattle to the Island of Mull, to place himself under the protection of Lauchlan Mór Maclean, of Duart, who was his near relative on the mother's side. Lochiel, getting information of his precipitate flight, pursued him with the few men he had about him, not exceeding sixty, and captured his goods, but notwithstanding the haste he had made, Mac Mhic Eoghainn himself escaped across the Sound of Mull. Maclean, seeing all that had passed, from the opposite shore, dispatched his eldest son, Hector, with 220 men, with Mac Mhic Eoghainn at their head, to recover the goods. Lochiel, now finding himself obliged to fight, posted his men in an advantageous position, which largely made up for his deficiency in numbers. Mac Mhic Eoghainn, armed cap-a-pie, advanced with an air which indicated the highest contempt for his enemy; but, feeling warm under the weight of his armour, he raised his helmet to admit the fresh air. One of Lochiel's archers at once observed this, and, taking his unerring aim, he pierced him in the fore-head with an arrow, killing him on the spot.

The death of Mac Mhic Eoghainn so dispirited his followers that Lochiel secured an easy victory over them. Hector Maclean and twenty of his party were taken prisoners, but Lochiel immediately released them without ransom. Lachlan Mor himself crossed the Sound of Mull during the action, and pursued Lochiel with a much larger force than his own, but he managed to escape without much loss.

Maclean was at the time engaged in a feud with the Macdonalds of Islay, in which he was soon after mortally wounded, when he expressed his grief that he had so much offended his nephew, Lochiel, "for," said he, "he is the only chief in the Highlands of sufficient courage, conduct, and power to revenge my death, and I am confident that, if I had not injured and provoked him in the manner I have done, he would not have allowed himself much rest till he had effected it." Lochiel was no sooner informed of these remarks and the death of his uncle than he resolved to be revenged. He marched against the Macdonalds of Islay at the head of his clan, defeated them in a bloody battle, and took Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, who aided the Macdonalds against his own chief, with several of his followers, prisoners of war, and detained them in chains for six months. Lochbuy, however, soon after had ample opportunity of being even with Lochiel.

This adventure gave Lochiel's enemies great advantage over him at Court, where his son John, a young man of great ability, was busily engaged in negotiating a settlement, and was in a fair way of succeeding. But those who expected to get possession of the portions of his lands contiguous to their own, exaggerated everything against him so much, that they, in the end, prevailed. "The Lord Kintail, predecessor to the Earl of Seaforth, got the estates of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Strome, from Sir Alexander Hay, the Secretary of State, who was the King's donatory to these and all the other forfeitures. The lands of Laggan, and Achadrome, Invergarry, Balnane, and others, were obtained by the Laird of Glengarry and the Baron of Lovat, and his several estates in Lochaber fell to the share of others. In a word, he was stripped of the whole, except the disputed lands of Glenbuy and Locharkike, which he still peaceably enjoyed by virtue of his late treaty with Mackintosh," which had been entered into in 1598.

In this unfortunate predicament, Lochiel found it prudent to arrange matters with those who had obtained rights to his northern estates, because they lay so far away, and were not inhabited by his own clansmen. But as to his Lochaber lands, he resolved to retain the possession of them at all hazards.

The estate of Lochiel had been purchased from the Secretary, by Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, for a very small sum. But that gentleman finding, after several fruitless attempts, that he could not secure possession, in 1609, made it over to the Earl of Argyll, for the sum of 400 merks, the very same amount that he had paid for it himself. Argyll's design in this purchase was probably

not to keep the estate for himself, but seems rather to have been with the view of augmenting his power, by forcing Lochiel to hold it direct from himself before he would consent to restore it. Several meetings took place between them, but they were unable to agree upon terms. The whole question was then submitted to his Majesty, and Clanranald—whose mother Allan had married some years before—was employed to negotiate for Lochiel at Court.

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The King had succeeded to the English crown in 1603, and though he was "naturally merciful and just, yet he was somewhat too credulous, and very apt to take impressions from such as were about him, whereby he was often exposed to the artifice of subtle and designing politicians; many innocent persons suffered by this foible. But especially, after his going to England, where, being at a distance, he had not the opportunity to examine matters as he ought, and probably would have done, had he been nearer. Of this the unfortunate Clan Macgregor afford us a melancholy instance." The King was so prejudiced against them that he resolved to get them utterly extirpated, and not only did he give the Earl of Argyll a commission to carry out his purpose, but wrote to all the chiefs and others of power in the Highlands to assist him vigorously-promising high rewards to such as should contribute most to the destruction of the Macgregors. Lochiel "was often solicited to join in that cruel confederacy, but he was too well acquainted with their story to comply until the necessity of his own affairs obliged him; for his Majesty would hear of nothing in his justification upon any other terms, so that he was in the end forced to enter into indentures with the Earl of Argyll, as his Majesty's Lieutenant, and the Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer, whereby the King became obliged not only to restore him to his estate, holding of the crown, but likewise to receive him as his tenant and vassal for the lands of Glenlui and Locharkig; and, in a word, to free him from all dependence and vassalage of any The contract contains several other conditions in favour of Lochiel, who, though he never designed to injure the proscribed Macgregors, his faithful friends, yet he thought there was no crime in embracing that opportunity to recover his estate, and ingratiate himself with his Majesty. Clanranald was also a party

to all these contracts, in behalf of his father-in-law, whom he served with uncommon zeal. He was a youth of extraordinary qualities, a polite courtier, and very adroit in the management of business. He had formerly, in name of Lochiel, agreed with the Earl of Argyll respecting the Barony of Lochiel, the terms of which were submitted to the King. With these two contracts he set out, and upon his arrival at Salisbury, where the Court then resided, he found a ready compliance from the King to all his demands: for his indignation against the Macgregors was as strong as ever. This appears from his letter to Lochiel, Wherein, after reciting Clanranald's negotiations, with the conditions of the two indentures, his Majesty is pleased to ratify them in the most ample manner, and assures him that, upon performances of the services thereby stipulated, they should be executed and fulfilled, and the charters and rights to his estate expedited, according to law. 'Your neighbour,' continues his Majesty, 'hath likeways shown unto us the articles set down and agreed upon betwixt the Earl of Argyll and him, concerning the prosecution of our said service, whereby the Earl hath submitted unto us his right and title acclaimed by him to your lands of Lochiel, and hath promitted to underly, and perform what we shall decern thereanent. You may be very glad that the Earl hath taken this course, for we shall so determine in that matter for your welfare and security, as in reason, equity, and justice we ought to do; and if your right to these lands be not good, we will be a means that the Earl shall make the same better; and, therefore, we will desire you, as you would have us blot out of our memory your former life, and to esteem and protect you, as our own vassal, tenant, and good subject, that you go on faithfully and carefully in this service, and prosecute the same to the final end thereof, in such form as you shall receive directions from the Earl of Argyll, our Lieutenant; and, in the meantime, that you seek all good occasions whereby you may do some service by yourself, and how soon the same is ended, you shall do well to repair to us that you may receive your promised reward, and understand our further pleasure concerning such other services as we shall employ you in," &c.

His Majesty also promises to cause the Marquis of Huntly to do him justice with respect to a difference which existed be-

tween them, and of which hereafter.

Lochiel declined to attack the Macgregors. They had often aided him in his wars, and he was too well acquainted with their sad story to act the barbarous part that was assigned to him by the commission. Rather than be concerned in such horrid barbarities he preferred to treat with Argyll direct with the view to recover a legal title to the estate of Lochiel; and he submitted in the end to terms which he had often previously refused. He agreed to renounce his former title, and to take a charter from Argyll in favour of his son John, holding the estate of him and his heirs taxt-ward, and paying yearly the sum of 100 merks Scots feuduty. This bargain was concluded on the 22nd of August 1612; the sum which he paid to Argyll, as the price of the lands, being 400 merks, the same sum as his lordship had previously paid Lochbuy for it.

(To be continued.)

GAELIC NAMES OF PLANTS. By JOHN CAMERON. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

MR CAMERON, in his "Gaelic Names of Plants," has taken up a subject which is practically new, and which certainly is interesting, as well as scientifically important. But the advantage of freshness of subject is often counterbalanced by the great difficulty there is in dealing with a new subject, and this difficulty is very much increased in the case of popular botany in general, and Gaelic botany in particular. Even under the most favourable circumstances, it is often very difficult to reduce the vagueness of the popular names to anything like strict scientific truth, and in the case of the Gaelic names of plants that difficulty is more than doubled, for latterly English names have asserted their place instead of the less special or less general Gaelic names, which have been, perhaps, forgotten, and are likely enough not recorded in the dictionaries; and, further, many native names are being lost, because the necessity for, and the interest in, herbal knowledge is on the wane. There is, consequently, a difficulty of assigning the Gaelic names we possess correctly, for, as Mr Cameron says, "the difficulty of the ordinary botanical student is here reversed: he has the plant, but cannot tell the name-here the name existed, but the plant required to be found to which the name applied." Perhaps no people have ever been keener observers of nature than the Celts; their power of grasping the salient points of a landscape, for example, and so naming it, is attested by the graphic topographical names our country possesses. And Mr Cameron's work is a further testimony to the general fact of the Gael's keenness of observation, and to the particular fact of the minute knowledge he had of trivial differences in plants, as attested by the names used. No subject can better show the strong objectivity of Gaelic poetry than this; in fact, such a poet as Duncan Bàn is painfully minute in his names and descriptions of plants and flowers; a good-sized dictionary could be made even from the names in his poems! But nothing can be finer than the stanza in his brother poet's "Aged Bard's Wish," where he pictures himself reclining amid the flowers:—

"Biodh sobhrach bhàn a's àillidh snuadh, Mu'n cuairt do m' thulaich 's uain' fo dhriuchd, 'S an neòinean beag ri m' lamh air cluain, 'S an ealbhuidh' aig mo chluais gu h-ur."

In Gaelic lyric poetry and song, plants and flowers afforded the richest field for similes and metaphors; a characteristic couplet may be quoted—

"Do ghruaidh mar ròs 'S do phòg mar ubhal."

Of course, the aspects of nature were of more importance to earlier men than to us, who are comfortably housed and fed, compared with them; and especially were plants and flowers more vitally important to them than to the dilettanteism of modern popular botany, for plants stood to them in the relation of drug-shop and drysaltery, besides their use for charms and badges.

Mr Cameron has done an excellent piece of work in this book. He has struggled energetically, and pretty successfully, with the difficulty of the subject; he has undertaken numerous journeys into the Highlands among the Gaelic-speaking population "in order, if possible, to settle disputed names, to fix the plant to which the name was applied, and to collect others previously unrecorded." Such disinterested energy and labour deserve our heartiest commendations, and all the more so when attended with such success. Mr Cameron acknowledges his indebtedness to the various vocabularies and dictionaries that

have preceded his work, and more especially to the "Flora Scotica" of Lightfoot, to which Mr Stuart of Killin contributed the Gaelic names. 'We are sorry that he has not indicated more pointedly his great indebtedness to the articles by Mr Charles Fergusson, gardener a few years ago at Raigmore, which appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, vol. iv.; though, in the body of his book, Mr Cameron quotes freely from these articles, simply acknowledging them as from "Fergusson."

The scientific part of the work, that is, the classification of the plants, is in full accord with the most approved views on this subject, and the names of each class, sub-class, and individual plant, are given in all the barbarous panoply of scientific Latin. Copious indices, both Gaelic and English, will enable the ordinary reader to find any plant he wishes under its proper class and sub-class. Each individual article gives, first, the scientific name in Latin or Latinised Greek; then comes the English name, and after it the Gaelic, and, where possible, the Irish name; and even the Welsh name appears not unfrequently. Thereafter, Mr Cameron, as a rule, discusses the etymology of the Gaelic name, and there generally follow brief but pregnant references to the popular medicinal use of the plant, the superstitions attached to it, the practical use made of it in dyeing and other purposes, and, lastly, if it be a clan badge, the fact is stated. Historical accounts of the plants, indicating whether they are native or imported, are not given, an unfortunate omission, in consequence of which we often cannot appreciate the Gaelic name at its true Many of the Gaelic names given are mere variations or translations of the English. For instance, the plane-tree appears under the Gaelic name of plinntrinn, a clear corruption of the English name; yet Mr Fergusson says the tree is native to the Highlands, though, from Mr Cameron's work, we should be in doubt about it. Mr Cameron deprecates the wrath of Gaelic purists in regard to the want of uniformity in the orthography, especially as between Irish and Scotch Gaelic, and in this matter we heartily sympathise with him. There are several misprints in the Gaelic, especially in the poetry quoted, and among these we would fain place "luachair bog" for "luachair bhog." But these are small blemishes on excellent work.

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Mr Cameron cannot, however, be let off so easily in the

matter of etymology. It is scarcely prudent in the unsettled state of Gaelic etymology to venture on the derivation of the Gaelic names at all. If this must be done, it was plainly Mr Cameron's duty to consult the best authorities, instead of such semi-scientific writers as Canon Bourke. Zeuss, Ebel, and Stokes, the proper authorities, are ignored. Mr Cameron's etymology is, as a rule, simply atrocious, and when he is right, he is so more by chance than for any scientific reason. He quotes Bourke's derivation of robur: "ro, excelling, and Celtic bur, development." A glance at Lewis & Short's Latin Dictionary would have saved him from this error. In other places he properly rejects so-called Celtic roots, most of which are mere inventions. "Fir," he says, "in English, comes from the Greek pur, fire, because good for fire"! That is a good enough derivation for a hundred years ago, when there was no science of language, and no Skeat or Max Muller to consult. As a consequence, in this very matter of the derivation of "fir," he loses one of the acutest pieces of scientific reasoning that the science of language can boast of. Max Muller draws attention to the fact that the names for fir, oak, and beech interchange in the different European languages. For instance, the Sanskrit root dar means a tree, and appears in the English word "tree" itself, while in Gaelic and Greek the same root means oak. Again, phegus in Greek is oak, in Latin fagus is the beech, and the English "beech" is from the same root. Curiously there does not appear to be a proper Gaelic word for beech. Further, the English word "fir" is allied in root to Latin quercus, oak, and to the Gaelic craobh and crann. We have, then, in these tree-names interchanges of this kind: what is tree in Gaelic is oak in Latin and fir in English; what is oak in Gaelic is tree in English. Why is this? Probably, as Max Muller would say, the Celts arrived in Europe when fir was predominant, and retained the name fir as a general word even when the fir was superseded by the oak in the bronze age, while the Teutons may have arrived only in the oak age (dar, root), and extended the name similarly to the general signification of tree. At any rate, such guesses are scientifically based, whereas Mr Cameron's etymology is indifferent to scientific principles.

The book is well got up, on the whole highly creditable to the author, and is a work without which no Celtic library can be considered complete.

## THE HIGHLAND DRESS. By J. G. Mackay.

## IV.—HIGHLAND ARMS.

"'N diugh fein," thuirt Mac-Stairn, "an diugh fein Briseam sa' bheinn an t-sleagh. 'Maireach bidh do righ-sa gun ghleus Agus Suaran 's a threin aig fleagh." "Am maireach biodh fleagh aig an triath," Thuirt righ Mhòirbheinn fo fhiamh-ghàir'. "'N-diugh cuiream an còmhrag air sliabh, 'S briseadhmaid an sgiath bu shar. Oisein, seas suas ri mo làimh, Ghaill, togsa do lann, fhir mhòir; Fhearghuis, tarruing taifeid nach mall: Tilgs' Fhillein, do chrann bu chòrr. Togaibhs' 'ur sgiathan gu h-ard, Mar ghealach fo sgail' san speur ; Biodh 'ur sleaghan mar theachdair a' bhàis; Leanuibh, leanuibh mo chliu 's mi féin ; Bi'bh coimeas do chiad sa' bhlàr."

OSSIAN.

The sword appears to have been a common weapon of the Celtic nations. Those used by the Highlanders were of great length, double edged, and formed to cut and thrust. The most ancient seems to be the two-handed sword with the cross guards. This is the original Claidheamh-mòr, and was a terrible weapon in the hands of a powerful warrior. From its length and unwieldiness it was not so suitable for close quarters, the swordsman having frequently to step back in order to deal a blow; but at the requisite distance it did terrible execution. The strength of a man was indicated by the length of his sword. Fraoch, a celebrated Celtic warrior, is represented as carrying one as broad as the plank of a ship. The sword, preserved in Dumbarton Castle, said to be the weapon used by the great Scottish patriot Wallace, is of enormous length, though it wants the point.

The basket hilt, same as now seen, is also of considerable antiquity. It is used with the one hand, the basket forming a complete guard for the hand, and by its weight balancing the long and heavy blade. These blades were also straight, two-edged

formed to cut and thrust, and had a double channel from the hilt to within a few inches of the point. The Island of Islay was at one time famous for the manufacture of these hilts, on account of which they were frequently called lann a chinn Ilich. A great many blades were imported from the Continent, but those of Spanish manufacture were most prized. We find frequent mention made of them in the works of the Gaelic bards. Alexander Macdonald says in Oran do Phriunnsa Tearlach—

"'S bhiodh am feileadh 'san fhasan, Mar ri gartanan sgarlaid Feile cuaich air bhachd easgaid; Paidhir phiostal 's lann Spainnteach."

The Highlanders were not, however, without swordmakers of their own, besides the many smiths and armourers in different parts of the country, who supplied their kinsmen with weapons. There was one, the excellence of whose blades has not even yet been surpassed. This was the great Andrea Ferrara. He was able to make armour that could resist the best Sheffield-made arrow heads, and to make sword blades that would vie with the best weapons of Toledo and Milan. He is supposed to have learned the art in the Italian city of that name (after which he is named), and to have practised it in secrecy somewhere in the Highlands of Banffshire. His blades were tempered to such a degree that the point could be made to touch the hilt, and spring back uninjured; the old saying, "The claymore may bend but never break," has probably arisen from the excellence of those blades.

He is said to have worked in a dark cellar underground, so as to enable him to see the effect of the heat on the metal, and to watch the nicety of the tempering, and at the same time to preserve the secrecy of his art. Several of his blades are still to be seen, and are very highly prized, so much so, that some unscrupulous persons have stamped his name on blades of spurious manufacture, in order to pass them off as his make. The forgery is, however, easily detected, the name being struck into the blade by means of a stamp. It may be seen to be modern; the name on the genuine blades is cut with a chisel, is not so even or regular, and is worn with the blade.

We have recently made a discovery which, we believe, may

have something to do with the excellence of Ferrara's blades. One of his blades, which was very much corroded with rust, was sent to a cutler to polish; being very much worn, it had to be ground down considerably, when a different colour of metal was discernible in several parts of the blade. On examination it was found to be made up of three pieces of metal beautifully welded together, the centre being of highly tempered iron, over which was a covering of steel, welded together at the edges and magnificently tempered. The object of such a combination is apparent, having thus the strength of the iron and the edge of the steel, while the action of the one part on the other gave it its peculiar elasticity.

The Highlanders put very great value on the *Claidheamh-mòr*. They frequently ornamented them with mottoes and devices, inciting the owner to deeds of daring and honour. We have seen one with the suitable motto—

"Na tarruing mi gun aobhar, 'S na gleidh mi gun onair."

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It was also customary to call them by some descriptive name, frequently from the name of the maker, or some incident in its history. This was a very ancient custom, and was practised in the days of Ossian. Fingal's sword was titled the Son of Luna, after a famous smith of that name. Ossian celebrates the smith's praises, and mentions the titles of the swords of the various Fingalian heroes in the following descriptive poem:—

"O'b' aighearach sinn an dara mhaireach,
Ann an ceardach Luin 'ic Liomhain;
Gu'm bu mhaith ar n' ùr-chlaidh'ne,
'S ar deagh shleaghan foda righne.
B'e Mac an Luin lann Mhic Cumhail,
Nach d' fhag fuigheal riabh dh' fheoil daoine;
Gu'm b'in Drui'-lannach lann Oscair,
'S gu'm b'i Chosgarrach lann Chaoillte.
Gu'm bi Liomhanach lann Dhiarmaid,
B'iomadh fear fiadhaich a mharbh i;
'S agam fein bha Gearr-nan-calan,
Bu gharg farum 'n am nan garbh-chath."

On the death of ancient warriors their arms were frequently buried along with them, and also their favourite hound, whether to show their occupation, or from a belief that they might require them beyond the grave, it is difficult to say. Even in our own day it is customary to place the arms of a departed warrior on his coffin till the time of interment. Of the burial of Diarmid and Graine, Ossian sings—

"Chairich sinn an dithis san raon,
A bhogha 'sa shleagh ri taobh Dhiarmaid;
'S le Graine thaisgeadh leinn an guineach
A lot a muineal, 's a bràghad."

The burial of the sons of Uisneach is also described as follows:—

"An tri sgiath a 's an tri sleagha
Anns an leabai chumhainn chuireadh;
'S chaireadh an tri chlaidheana cruaidhe
Sint' an sèimh-uaigh nan cathan;
An tri choin 's an tri seabhaig leithir,
Le 'n tric a bheirte gach buaidh sheilge."

Among the Highlanders the sword was handed down from father to son for many generations; and the idea of a youth bearing his father's sword was enough to nerve his arm and stimulate him to deeds of glory. This feeling is also beautifully illustrated in the lines of "The Irish Minstrel Boy"—

"The Minstrel boy to the war is gone,
In the ranks of death you'll find him;
His father's sword he has girded on,
And his wild harp slung behind him,—
'Land of Song,' said the warrior-bard,
'Tho' all the world betrays thee,
One sword at least thy rights shall guard,
One faithful harp shall praise thee.'"

To retain untarnished the glorious fame of their ancestors, was one of the proudest traits of the Celtic character; it was at all times the dying injunction of the Celtic warrior to his sorrowing children, and, perhaps, there is no command that has oftener been given or more strictly adhered to than the words of Fingal—

"Lean gu dluth ri cliu do shinnsear, 'S na dibir a bhi mar iadsan."

The old warrior shows how he was himself imbued with this feeling, in his words to Oscar—

"' 'Mhic mo mhic,' thuirt an righ,
'Oscair na stri, 'na t-oige,
Chunnam do chlaidheamh nach min;
Bha m' uaill mu m' shinnsear mòr.
Leansa cliu na dh'aom a chaoidh;
Mar d' aithraiche biosa fein,'"

After all that has come and gone, it is wonderful the hold this feeling has still on the Highland character. Let the poor Highlander be ever so lowly, ever so much oppressed, he still retains the noble sentiment that causes him to respect himself, should it be only for the memory of the departed. It is this feeling that has enabled our Highland soldiers to accomplish feats which would be impossible to any other, and even yet, though only the wrecks of their former selves, the renown of their ancient glory has created such an *esprit de corps* as to be infectious, even to John Bull himself.

Say to a Highland boy, "Cuimhnich na daoine bho'n d'thainig dhu," and he immediately accomplishes a task which previously was unsurmountable. Long may this feeling form a trait in the Highland character.

The loss of a sword in battle was considered an everlasting disgrace. Donnachadh Bàn, who was present at the battle of Falkirk, as a substitute for another, "considering discretion the best part of valour," in his haste to secure his own safety, lost his employer's sword. On presenting himself for his hire, he was refused payment without delivering the sword. If Duncan was devoid of courage on the field of battle, he was not without the means of having his revenge: he composed a song on the battle, in which he chastises the owner of the sword, and excuses himself for its loss as follows:—

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"'Nuair a chruinnich iad na'n ceudan,
'N la sin air sliabh na h-eaglais
Bha ratreud air luchd na Beurla,
'S ann daibh fein a b-eigin teicheadh.
Ged a chaill mi anns an àm sin
Claidheamh ceannart Chloinn-an-Leisdeir,
Claidheamh bearnach a mhi-fhortain,
'S ann bu choltach e ri greidlein."

The claymore continued to be worn by the Highland Regiments till about the middle of the American War, when, by an order from the War Office, it was laid aside by the private soldiers. Very great dissatisfaction was felt at this change, for, besides the partiality of the men to their favourite weapon, it was shown several times that the broadsword, in the grasp of a firm hand, is a better weapon in close fighting than the bayonet. General Stewart says—

"If the first push of the bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon, and repeat the thrust, if the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms; while its motions defend the person using it."

We might give many instances of the expertness of Highlanders in handling the sword, and the success with which, on many occasions, they opposed the most disciplined troops, though armed with all the modern implements of warfare. A few such anecdotes may not be uninteresting.

In the year 1654, a body of English soldiers (some accounts say 300) were sent from the garrison at Inverlochy to kill Lochiel's cattle, and destroy the woods on his property, so as to leave no place of concealment for the Camerons, who were very troublesome to the garrison. Lochiel, having heard of the expedition, resolved to frustrate the attempt, and hastily collecting 36 of his followers, they met the Englishmen as they were landing. The one-half of the soldiers carried axes to fell the woods, while the others were armed to protect them.

The Camerons concealed themselves among the trees till the English were landed, when they let fly a shower of arrows, and then rushed on them, claymore in hand. The English, who were armed with muskets and bayonets, fired a volley on the Camerons as they were rushing down the beach, but with no effect. The combat was short, but obstinate. The Englishmen fought with coolness and intrepidity, but they were soon driven into the sea, the Highlanders following them into the water up to the chin. One of the soldiers, having managed to get into a boat, was in the act of taking aim at Lochiel, when the latter dived his head under water, escaping so narrowly that the bullet grazed his head.

Another marksman was foiled by the affection of Lochiel's foster-brother, who threw himself between the Englishman and the object of his aim, and was killed by the ball intended for his chief.

During the engagement, the English officer, who was reputed an excellent swordsman, besides being a very powerful man, singled out Lochiel for a personal encounter. Lochiel having disarmed the officer, the latter sprang on to him, and in the struggle which followed, they both fell to the ground, the Englishman above. He was in the act of grasping at his sword, which lay near the place where they fell, when the chief, seeing no other chance, grasped him by the throat with his teeth, and held him so firmly as to choke him. He was afterwards heard to say that it was the sweetest morsel that ever he had tasted.

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As most readers will be familiar with the details of the various battles fought between the Highlanders and the regular troops during Montrose's campaigns and the two rebellions, it may be more interesting to give a few anecdotes of personal encounters.

At the battle of Aboukir, Serjeant John Macrae, of the Ross-shire Highlanders, single-handed, killed six of the enemy with his broadsword, when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down. He was killed by a blow from behind, as he was returning to the square.

John Campbell, an Argyllshire man, a soldier in the Black Watch, did a similar feat at Fontenoy. Having killed nine men, single-handed, with the claymore, his arm was carried away by a cannon ball on attacking the tenth.

At Culloden, Gillies Macbain, seeing the Campbells attacking the Highland army by means of a breach made in a wall, attacked them as they were coming through the breach, and before he fell, overpowered by numbers, he made fourteen of his enemies bite the dust.

William Chisholm, a native of Strathglass, killed sixteen at Culloden (three of them being troopers) before he was overpowered. His wife composed a very beautiful and touching elegy on his death, which is still a great favourite in the North.

In one of the many battles between the Sutherland and Caithness men, one of the former, named Iain Mor Riabhach Mackay, committed a terrible havoc among the Caithness men. Having taken up his position in a narrow pass through which they would have to go, he quietly waited the result of the battle, under the expectation of his own friends being victorious, and, as the sequel shows, he was not disappointed. The Caithness men, having been worsted in the battle, fled to their own country, little knowing who was before them in the pass. On rushed the fugitives, thinking that if the pass was overgained they were safe, when up jumps Iain Mòr, with his huge, two-handed sword, which

he wielded so successfully that only one Caithness man, like Job's messenger, got safely home to tell the mournful tale.

Many years after this, when this Strathnaver warrior was on his deathbed, he was visited by the parish priest, who earnestly advised him to confess his sins and make a clean breast of it. "Is there anything," inquired the priest, "that lies particularly heavy on your conscience?" "No," said he, raising himself with a great effort, and striking his fist on the pillow, "No, nothing, but that I let that vagabond of a Caithness man escape me!"

## THE LOCHABER AXE.

This was, next to the claymore, the favourite weapon; and we can well imagine what a powerful instrument it was in the hands of a Herculean Highlander. Being furnished with a hook on the top, it was used for scaling walls, tearing down barricades, and was well adapted for opposing cavalry; being fitted with a long handle, it could reach the rider and pull him down off the horse, with little danger to the party using it.

## THE DIRK OR "BIODAG."

This was both a useful and ornamental arm, and when used in the left hand, together with the target and claymore, it was a most deadly weapon, being held in such a position that on any portion of an opponent's body being left unguarded, it was always ready for a fatal thrust.

These weapons were great favourites, being so convenient for a sudden emergency. Besides being serviceable for killing deer or any other animal, they were furnished with a knife and fork for carving purposes; and, latterly, some had a snuff-mull fitted into the top, but, of course, this must be a comparatively modern addition.

There is a tradition that it was a taunt given to Robert Bruce, for carving meat with his dirk, that incited him to take up the cause of his country so quickly. It is said that on one occasion, after some skirmish between the Scotch and English (Bruce having been fighting against his countrymen), he was carving a sirloin of beef with his dirk, when some Englishmen jeered him on his using the same knife to carve his food as he did to carve his countrymen. Bruce took the hint in a different way from what the Englishmen would have wished.

(To be continued.) .